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and remedy, sometimes working side by side with voluntary agencies, and sometimes contenting themselves with exercising control and supervision over such agencies. Generally speaking, it is only public authority that is able to expose the full extent of the evil, and, above all, to deal at all effectively with its causes. The scientific analysis of social phenomena has led to the recognition that the State should exist for the good of its members, and that one generation cannot, without treachery to itself and the future of the race, abandon its failures to their fate, or to the sporadic good will of voluntary agencies.

We have in this book a rigorously condensed, but luminous and deeply instructive account of the beginnings and progress of philanthropic endeavor in our country, and of the gradual absorption of its business by the organized community. The spirit in which it is written is enlightened and generous, and the style is nowhere marred by catchwords and trite mannerisms. Miss Hutchins remarks very justly that "it is quite easy . . . to find competent students, who will turn out conscientious studies of social and economic questions, with careful research from original materials, and a collection of facts and statistics. . . . What is not so common, is the philosophic insight, that will find the connecting link, interpret the inner relations and bring the many facts and details together so that they may have a meaning and purpose for the souls of men."

Mr. Gray combined with a gift for research and narrative a humane and philosophic spirit; and this book should stimulate many of its readers to render themselves familiar with further details of the movements which it relates and to strive toward a deeper and more life-giving philosophy of society. We can only wish that Mr. Gray had lived to give even more impressive coherence and solidity to the fine observations which make this work so suggestive and inspiring a monument of his labors.

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THE CRISIS OF LIBERALISM: NEW ISSUES OF DEMOCRACY. By J. A. Hobson. London: P. S. King & Son, 1909. Pp. xiv, 284.

This volume contains a collection of lectures and essays, some of which have previously appeared in periodicals, on current

political events and problems. Taken together, the two parts of the title represent fairly adequately the range of topics, and the spirit in which the author approaches them. "The Crisis of Liberalism," in the narrower sense, by which we understand the issues raised between the liberal and labor parties in Great Britain and the House of Lords over the control of finance, is most explicitly dealt with in the first of the three parts into which the book is divided. Mr. Hobson recognizes the grave injustice involved in the powers invested by law and constitutional custom in an irresponsible assembly of hereditary plutocrats, not to speak of the more novel claims recently advanced. But he exhibits with equal clearness the weak points in the scheme of the professedly popular parties, so far as they have yet formulated it. While avoiding the more commonplace arguments for second chambers, which are usually unsound historically, and which admit of no fruitful application in practice, he points to the best reason of all why a democratic people should hesitate merely to curtail the powers of the House of Lords, while leaving our system of parliamentary government in other respects unchanged; namely, that the House of Commons is rapidly ceasing to be an independent organ of government, and becoming increasingly a puppet controlled by the Cabinet and the persons who work the administrative machine. Mr. Hobson argues for a reconstituted elective second chamber with limited powers; more especially, with the power, not of finally rejecting measures approved by the House of Commons, but of enforcing a referendum on the particular proposal in question. He gives us a full account of the establishment and working of the referendum in Switzerland, and brings forward powerful arguments in answer to the usual objections to this organ of popular government. I cannot, however, feel that Mr. Hobson has been completely successful, or that he has taken sufficient account of the political habits of the British people; and I am disposed to think that French, rather than Swiss experience, in respect of the particular weaknesses which our parliamentary government exhibits, would be found helpful. That the French Chambers really do control the course of legislation and government is the general opinion among students of French politics. The fourth chapter of this first part, "The Restatement of Democracy," offers an ingenious and highly suggestive justification of popular rights as consistent with and indeed

arising out of the 'organic' nature of society; the recognition of difference and inequality, of diversity of function, which the facts force upon us, it is argued, provide a sure and adequate basis for the genuine participation of all citizens in the government of the state. It is, of course, easy to err in the application of this many-edged analogy to human society, and some of Mr. Hobson's conclusions here will appear to many who sympathize with his main tendency, open to dispute. But Mr. Hobson's attempt is full of close thought and stimulating suggestion.

The second part, "Liberalism and Socialism," deals in a systematic way with the connection between democratic ideals and the tendencies known as socialistic, more especially in the form which these tendencies assume in the proposals of liberal reformers at the present day. Mr. Hobson endeavors to show that the realization of even political liberty and equality requires the suppression of the great industrial monopolies, and the recognition of the right of the State so to control the means of production as to secure equality of opportunity for its members. This endeavor to exhibit socialism as the legitimate descendant of liberalism deserves the highest praise: the argument is throughout masterly, and represents with a force which few exponents of reform programs can command, the direction in which the best thought of the age is moving. The reconciliation of the just claims of society and the individual, and the exhibition of their mutual implications, is the great task of the political thought and practice of the future; and to some of the problems involved only the spread of social thought and experience can provide the answer.

The third part of the work, "Applied Democracy," contains a number of discussions of a miscellaneous character, dealing with such topics as "Millionaire Endowments" (of universities), "The Morality of Nations," and "The Social Philosophy of Charity Organization." Never, I should think, have the Whiggish ideas, represented by the Charity Organization Society, been subjected to a criticism so ruinous. A social philosophy, which loftily proclaims its independence of the economic origin of riches and opportunities, is exhibited in all its shallowness and futility. In another essay of this part, "Poverty: Its Causes and Cure," Mr. Hobson writes: "To discover, to assert, and to achieve the claims of economic justice, this is the

only radical cure for poverty;" and it is this unassailable truth that he opposes to the futile and at bottom insincere empiricism of the C. O. S. "They are simply not the scientific people that they claim to be, for they have not learned to think straight against the pressure of class interests and class prejudices. Let them apply the reasoning by which they condemn indiscriminate charity to all other modes of transfer of property. Let them accurately study the nature of economic bargains in the light afforded by the writings of economists. . . . The spurious antithesis of 'moral' and 'economic' in methods of reform they will [then] reject as a mere piece of rhetorical bluff, recognizing that every well-ordered reform of economic structure is an expression of the moral force of the community, the 'general will' finding embodiment in some stable and serviceable form of social support."

The final essay, "The Task of Reconstruction," deserves special mention in a philosophic journal, though it is difficult in a short space to convey an adequate notion of its contents. It deals with the tendency, which so strongly dominated the later nineteenth century, toward the dispersion, under the guise of 'specialization,' of intellectual pursuit; and points hopefully toward a revival of the synthetic spirit in recent years. Mr. Hobson characterizes this revival as 'realistic,' meaning that its dominant feature is the willingness to face facts and their consequences, in the hope of extracting from them "a practical philosophy of life, while leaving liberty for the uniqueness and waywardness of the individual." As a criticism of the interaction of social and more definitely intellectual forces this essay is of the utmost importance and value.

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DARWINISM AND MODERN SOCIALISM. By F. W. Headley, F.Z.S.
London: Methuen, 1909. Pp. xv, 342.

Mr. Headley has a whole-hearted contempt for socialism and makes no attempt to conceal it. His studies in history and natural science have convinced him that our civilization is the result of competition and natural selection, and he believes that the principles on which our society has been built up are essential